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ABSTRACT

This address asserts that the profession of school administrator cannot reach full maturity unless it recognizes, one and for all, that separate schools are as unsound educationally as they are legally and morally; unless it decreases the deliberation and increases the speed which it brings leadership to America's major unresolved social, educational, and human problems; unless it develops the statesmanship to fashion remedies across arbitrary lines and design programs that capitalize on human diversity; and unless it commits itself to personal action by which it and other individuals can measure the changes necessary for a just and loving school and society. Twenty-one recommendations for action are made here, including such proposals as the following: "Resolve to understand personally, and to involve all your fellow administrators in understanding, the black experience in America;" "take a look at your schools through the eyes of a good pluralistic assessment tool;" "contact the federally supported General Assistance Center or Human Relations Institute and ask for help in planning and presenting human relations training, as well as for some of the activities and materials enumerated here, for your staff;" and "see how many more teachers you would need to make the staff composition characteristic of the student composition in your district." (Author/JM)

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SPEAKER: Wayne M. Carle, Superintendent of Schools, Hammond, Indiana

TOPIC: Integration: Maintaining the Momentum

PLACE: Room E-401, Convention Center

TIME: 10:00 a.m., Saturday, February 22

PROGRAM: Page 51

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
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America comes of age this year. Shortly I want to suggest twenty-one ways to observe the twenty-first anniversary of Brown vs. Board of Education.

Before we celebrate our majority as a just society, however, let me prick a few of the pimples that reveal our lingering pubescence.

Separate and Unequal

We say we studied Dewey, but we let sociologists and jurists teach us the self-evident truth that separate is inherently unequal in a democratic society. Now, to our continuing shame, 25% of black pupils in the South and 49% of those in the North still are attending largely black schools.

And we continue to advance compensatory education, alternative schools, open enrollment and a dozen other artifices to avoid facing up to Dewey, Douglas, Coleman or even the western concept of mankind. It may be costly, but give them anything but equality. No tempering of mercy with justice.

Some superintendents and boards will go on thinking there's no jeopardy in the status quo. After all, the new Nixon Court is stalled on Detroit, split on DeFunis . . . the new President opposes busing in Grand Rapids (successfully) and Boston (disruptingly) . . . the Justice Department begins intervening in desegregation against the interests of black children . . . the Secretary of Labor issues a memorandum defanging Home Town Plans . . . HEW compromises affirmative action in colleges.

Desegregation is dead, right?

Dead wrong.

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Integration has just been ordered in Beaumont and Corpus Christi.

A court of appeals has just affirmed the Boston decision.

Under the Pennsylvania Human Relations Commission, desegregation plans are being prepared for Philadelphia, Pittsburg and other districts. In California the court has affirmed desegregation in Oxnard, and a judge has refused to halt integration in Pasadena on the argument of "white flight." In Ohio, suits are filed in Columbus, Youngstown and Cleveland, and a rehearing is scheduled on the Dayton plan which the Appeals Court found inadequate.

The NAACP is poised to file an enforcement suit in the North similar to Adams vs. Richardson that heightened federal compliance actions in the South.

A pre-trial conference is set on a Detroit-only plan and reconsideration of metropolitan desegregation.

Kalamazoo is about to pay twice for the privilege of defending segregation. The court is considering allocation of $250,000 in court costs and plaintiff's attorney fees.

As civil rights lawyer Louis Lucas says, segregation, like smoking, is an expensive habit.

All Deliberated Speed

As educators we have not been noted for dynamic leadership in social change. It took Phi Delta Kappa from 1914 to 1942 to remove the "whites only" clause from its constitution (and until last year to admit women). The majority of American school administrators still live in a "whites only" professional world.

Maxwell Brooks was unintentionally prophetic when he wrote from Wilberforce University two years after Brown that

> Desegregation has never had a hearing at the community level. Few local officials will be inclined to take the lead in complying with the Court order when their superiors and state legislatures are debating and passing bills to preserve segregation in the schools.

Stanley Elam could still say in 1972 that

> The danger, I believe, is that too many leaders will too readily "give up on integration" in locales which it can be made to work. No responsible educator in this country wants racism and apartheid, South African style. Yet that is exactly where we are tending if powerful forces-- including the schools, but particularly the whole federal apparatus--do not exercise moral leadership in the years immediately ahead.

And Neil V. Sullivan, like Diogenes, is still looking for a certain kind of man:

> One critical ingredient is needed if integration is to occur, namely a school superintendent who has courage. Sure, you need a committed staff and a school committee with an open mind but without a superintendent who is willing to push, cajole, motivate, and drive with one objective in mind--to lead--it will not happen.

Fortunately, for several years AASA has had a continuing resolution that supports superintendent activism in integration. It reads:

> AASA believes integrated schools to be the best preparation for participation in America's pluralistic society. In most areas of the country, schools serve a cross section of the racial, ethnic and economic groups that make up our country. School administrators have a moral responsibility to provide affirmative leadership, not only to desegregate schools, but also to integrate students, staffs, curriculum and activities.
>
> AASA supports transportation of students as one necessary means of correcting racial and economic isolation, and commends the use of federal, state and local funds for this purpose.
>
> AASA calls upon school administrators to continue to be innovative and resourceful in developing means for integrating schools. School administrators must work with organizations to establish open housing, equal employment opportunities, and full social participation.

From Washington there is at least a glimmer of leadership emerging from the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights. Under Arthur Flemming, the Commission is considering asking Congress to adopt a uniform national school desegregation standard that would apply to school districts in both the North and the South.

School districts complying with the national standard would be rewarded with federal funds that would help to build new schools and eliminate or reduce busing. Federal help also would be available to districts to pay for busing needed to fully desegregate according to the national standards.

Roots and Branches

Overarching what still may be accomplished from school district to school district is the question of metropolitan integration. The mighty oak of racism drops its leaves across the fence lines of political subdivisions. They can't be raked and burned in the cities alone.

As Judge J. Skelly Wright said last year, "In each metropolitan area, we are setting up two geographically, politically, and economically distinct civilizations." Writing before the Detroit decision, he warned:

> Let us be candid. If the Supreme Court should ever hold that the mandate of Brown applies only within the boundaries of discrete school districts, the national trend toward residential, political, and educational apartheid will not only be greatly accelerated; it will also be rendered legitimate, and virtually irreversible, by force of the law. We will have moved in twenty years from dual systems to dual cities.

The vestiges of state-imposed segregation cannot be rooted out in the cities alone.

If we are to shed adolescence and wear the mantle of maturity in race relations, we must bring educational leadership to the plight of our whole, sick society.

Integrated schools, pluralistic values and multi-ethnic curricula no longer are mere questions of law and decency; they are matters of survival.

If you accept the urgency and gravity of the problem, no personal or professional contribution will be too great. Here are just a few actions that each of us can take right away.

Going on Twenty-One

1. Resolve to understand personally, and to involve all your fellow administrators in understanding, the black experience in America. One of the most effective programs for this is by Charles King, Jr. in his two-day Human Potential Seminars (contact Urban Crisis, Inc., 40 Mariette St. N. W., Suite 1710, Atlanta, Ga., 30303). You'll come away better understanding what Louis Martin means when he says

   > However splintered the society may seem, there are only two groups in America that history, the Constitution, law, and custom have divided into first-class and second-class citizens. The basic division in the country is between whites and non-whites, between the segregators and the segregated, between the lynchers and the lynchees . . . .
   >
   > No whites, irrespective of their ethnic origin, have known anything like the black experience. . . . Color, not ethnicity, is the cutting edge of American inequality.

2. Take a look at your schools through the eyes of a good pluralistic assessment tool such as the new Evaluation Guidelines for Multi-cultural-Multiracial Education developed by the National Study of

3. Give students, staff and your community a superb taste of minority culture. Present "Journey Into Blackness," the two-act dramatic musical by Voices, Inc. (Mt. Morris Park Ampitheater, 122nd St. and Mt. Morris Park, New York City, 10024).

4. Contact the federally supported General Assistance Center or Human Relations Institute and ask for help in planning and presenting human relations training, as well as for some of the activities and materials enumerated here, for your staff.

5. Pay twenty-five dollars for a demonstration kit plus $6.50 per school for materials, to involve parent volunteers in presenting Green Circle to primary age children (Order from The Green Circle, Inc., 112 South 16th Street, Room 1210, Philadelphia 19102).

6. Offer to help your city's Human Rights Commission mount a testing program for eliminating discrimination by real estate agents in sale and rental of houses. Pair yourself with a racially different person and compile sworn statements on the way you're treated when you separately ask to be shown similar housing. (For information on open housing: Kale Williams, Executive Director, Leadership Council for Metropolitan Open Communities, 407 South Dearborn St., Chicago, 60605).

7. Obtain special issues of Educational Leadership for October 1974 on "Human Relations Curriculum--Teaching Students to Care and Feel and Relate"; of the Phi Delta Kappan for January 1972 on "The Imperatives of Ethnic Education" and for June 1973 on "Metropolitanism in American Education":

> If we are to save the cities, if the nation is to continue to prosper, if we are genuinely to integrate our schools and society, if minorities are to find new ways to work with the larger community on a more equal basis without surrendering their own identities, if we are to recognize the diverse needs of the various groups, if the American twentieth-century concept of a nation of many nations is to work, then we as educators should start thinking in terms of metropolitan educational development and cooperation--and this concept should be extended to other social systems such as housing, transportation, and welfare.
>
> --Allan C. Ornstein

8. Read and use Ruth Sloan Taylor's guide to Teaching in the Desegregated Classroom (Parker Publishing Co., West Nyack, N. Y., $8.95), from basic motivational and adjustment problems to questions of how much minority culture material to include in the curriculum and how to integrate it meaningfully.

9. Read and ponder the photographs in Executive Order 9066, The Internment of 110,000 Japanese Americans during World War II (The MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass. 02142).

10. If your system is not yet sued, separated or segregated, consider establishing long-range policy on integration, as a basis for action before schools reach the tipping point. Here is a thought-starter:

> A school shall be considered segregated if 30% of its enrollment is minority, or low income, or a combination of minority and low income.

11. Look in the mirror and ask whether it is federal inertia, court indecision, state indifference or personal inaction that is contributing to continuation of racial isolation. After all, there is no legal barrier to local integration of schools. In the words of a "strict constructionist,"

> As a matter of educational policy, some school boards have chosen to arrange their school systems in such a way as to provide a greater measure of racial integration. The important point to bear in mind is that where the existing racial separation has not been caused by official action, this increased integration is and should remain a matter for local determination (Policy Statement by Richard Nixon, March 24, 1970).

12. Read, or reread, the Kerner Commission Report of 1968. Its warning that, because of white racism, we are fast becoming two societies--black and white--at war with each other is even more predictive today than it was after the riots of the sixties. Please note page 438:

> We have cited the extent of racial isolation in our urban schools. It is great and it is growing. It will not easily be overcome. Nonetheless, we believe school integration to be vital to the well-being of this country.
>
> We base this conclusion not on the effect of racial and economic segregation on achievement of Negro students, although there is evidence of such a relationship; nor on the effect of racial isolation on the even more segregated white students, although lack of opportunity to associate with persons of different ethnic and socio-economic backgrounds surely limits their learning experience.
>
> We support integration as the priority education strategy because it is essential to the future of American society.

13. Look at the latest state or federal racial and ethnic survey for your schools and see how many more teachers you'd need to make the staff composition characteristic of the student composition in your district. For example, as of Fall, 1972, it would take 12% more minority teachers in Mobile . . .

24% more in Atlanta or Charlotte
35% more in Memphis
57% more in Jackson
61% more in Dallas
75% more in Chicago
134% more in Los Angeles
290% more in Salt Lake City
464% more in New York City
(122% more in Hammond)

If you have few minority pupils, how many minority teachers do you need to assure that no white child goes through school without studying with teachers of varied ethnic and racial backgrounds?

14. Subscribe to Integrated Education for each of your schools and place publications like these in each professional library: Afro-American History: Separate or Interracial? The Indian in American History. Desegregation Works: A Primer for Parents and Teachers. The Principal: Change-Agent in Desegregation. (All from Northwestern University School of Education, 2003 Sheridan Road, Evanston, Illinois 60201); Desegregation: How Schools are Meeting Historic Challenge (NSPRA, 1801 North Moore St., Arlington, Va. 22209); and School Desegregation in Ten Communities (U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, Clearinghouse Publication 43, June 1973).

15. Be a sport: integrate your schools' athletics. Since Jackie Robinson opened up professional athletics, there's been only limited progress in integrating the preps. The black or brown head coach is still a rarity, particularly in white schools. Moreover, you can go from League, to Sectional, to Regional to State Tournament play in some areas without seeing a dark-skinned game official. Can't find qualified ones? Metropolitan Officials Association of Chicago has been successful in recruiting and training them. Contact Art Sykes, 18 W. 265 Kirkland, Villa Park, Ill., 60181, for advice.

16. Write to Herman Goldberg and the Congress to urge full funding of Emergency School Aid for desegregation assistance. Congress has authorized $234 million; the President has asked for $75 million. This is the "separate but equal" money of which President Nixon originally promised $1.5 billion.

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17. Give to the NAACP Special Contribution Fund. This is the primary source of support for desegregation litigation. Send to 1790 Broadway, New York City 10019.

18. Recruit and appoint minority guidance counselors, vocational program coordinators and work-study supervisors. Assure that minorities are motivated and represented in all programs and placed equally in work-study, job and college entrance slots. Use randomized computer selection to assure proportional representation of minorities and females in elective and alternative programs and schools. (See Black Agenda for Career Education, ECCA Publications, 2425 North High St., Columbus, Ohio 43202, $4.95)

19. Amend your affirmative action program to provide a grievance procedure for minorities or females who allege discrimination. Offer to have your personnel department give a written explanation, if requested, why an applicant was rejected if thought to be unqualified.

20. In Senate fashion, give parity to minority and female representatives on integrated community, student, PTA and staff committees and councils. Let them know institutional racism is dead and that their participation is both wanted and valued. Establish a Zebra Club in each school and district-wide. Is a Zebra Club black with white representatives, or white with black representatives? Not even a racist knows for sure.

21. Wear a black and white heart through all of 1975, subscribing to this affirmation:

> I am an American. I believe that all people are brothers and sisters. I am united with, I care about, and I am devoted to every person of every race, of every nation, of every creed.
>
> Regarding race, nationality or creed, I will greet every person the same, welcome any responsible individual into my neighborhood, my social group, or my family in friendship or in marriage.
>
> I decry discrimination of every single kind, the hurts which I may have inflicted on others because of bigotry or racism.
>
> In testimony of these declarations I will wear a black and white heart through all of 1975 to encourage those who believe as I do, and to encourage others to examine themselves, to the end that 1975 may see my nation be a witness to the world of the brotherhood and love which it once promised to mankind.

(Order hearts and cards from NAACP Field Office, P. O. Box 8237, Los Angeles 90008).

On May 17 we will be twenty-one.

But we will not be adult as a profession of school administrators unless . . .

> . . . unless we confess, once and for all, that separate schools are as unsound educationally as they are legally and morally;

> . . . unless we decrease the deliberation and increase the speed with which we bring leadership to America's major unresolved social, educational and human problem;
>
> . . . unless we develop the statesmanship to fashion remedies across arbitrary lines and design programs that capitalize on human diversity;
>
> . . . unless we commit ourselves to personal actions by which we and others can measure the changes necessary for a just and loving school and society.

Robert Simpson and William Gordon recently traced what they identified as three eras in the legal movement toward racial integration of schools. The first, defining "separate but equal", led us from our national origins to the legal recognition of ethnic equality in 1899.

The second era, defining "separate as being unequal", covers the period up to the first attempts at operationalization of school integration in 1954.

Our third era is leading us from desegregation to integration. The legal landmarks of the past two decades have removed gerrymandering, community opposition, states rights, closing of public schools, racial identity and delay as excuses for segregation, set as standard the test of whether a plan works, and gave boards an affirmative duty to end segregation by any logical means at hand.

> These three eras have established an affirmative duty to balance enrollment racially as far as school resources permit. The duty is one of ethics or morality first. Legal pressure arises later, usually through injunction.
>
> Can each school official state that (s)he will uphold the clear directives of the U. S. Constitution only upon court order? If so, (s)he has violated the oath of office. (NOLPE School Law Journal).

Maintaining the momentum.

The task and the challenge clearly are ours.

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